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VISITING RELATIONS AND SOCIAL INTERACTIONS BETWEEN RESIDENTIAL GROUPS OF THE CENTRAL KALAHARI SAN: HUNTER-GATHERER CAMP AS A MICRO-TERRITORY

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ABSTRACT Since 1979, the Botswana government prompted the Central Kalahari San in the ≠Kade area to settle at !Koi!kom. In this sedentary community, I observed visiting activity between residential groups (camps). Visiting activity of females is based on close kinship relations among them, while male social relationships range beyond the boundary of their linguistic group. Economic transactions, such as giving-and-receiving-goods and serving-and-consuming-food, frequently occur during visiting. The San men sometimes visit the camps of the Kgalagadi people, expecting some reward for their labor. Longitudinal analysis of the composition of visitors demonstrates that a great part of the San living in camps other than the study group have never visited the latter during both the first (1982/83) and the second (1984/85) study periods. The discontinuity found in the networks of visiting relationship among the sedentary community leads us to reconsider the concept of 'band'.

The spatial organization of camp can well be characterized as a multi-layered micro-territory. Greeting interaction is a specific way in which those who enter into the micro-territory establish the focused interaction with its occupants. Most greeting episodes are exchanged between adult males in a relatively distant relationship. Various kinds of small behavior other than greeting can be also understood in terms of strategies for visiting and receiving. The ground rules, or conventional programs, governing the San greeting reveal two main themes: the openness of a camp and the definite distinction between residents and non-residents. The camp as a micro-territory is open, as the residents have no means to refuse a visitor. But the residents are situationally dominant to the visitor, as they enjoy the privilege of introducing the latter into the focused interaction, by initiating greeting.

Key Words: G/wi and G//ana San; Visitor; Micro-territory; Greeting; Face-to-face interaction.

INTRODUCTION

The Central Kalahari San (G//anakwe and G/wikwe) a hunting-and-gathering people, are exceedingly well adapted to the harsh and dry environment of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in Botswana. Tanaka (1971, 1976, 1978, 1980) and Silberbauer (1971, 1981) have carried out eco-anthropological studies on the San population living in the ≠Kade area, in the middle of this reserve. Since 1979, the government has prompted the people in the ≠Kade area to settle around the !Koi!kom borehole. Since 1981 both the San and the Kgalagadi people living outside of the ≠Kade area have begun to migrate to !Koi!kom. In 1982 the population at !Koi!kom exceeded more than 500 (Tanaka, 1987).

This study examines the visiting activity between residential groups in the !Koi!kom

community. The purposes of this study are as follows: 1) to describe various aspects of social relations and transactions realized or maintained by visiting, 2) to make understood the ground rules governing face-to-face interactions, especially greeting interactions between visitor and resident, and 3) to elucidate the influence of recent socio-economic changes on the social organization of the San.

There are several issues relevant to these goals. The first point is concerned with the present situation of the sedentary community which stands in sharp contrast to the traditional nomadic and dispersed life style of the San. One may doubt whether the observations of social life under such crowded condition are useful in comprehending the behavioral features essential to 'hunter-gatherer society.' Wilmsen (1983) seriously criticizes the ecological methodology of reconstructing the "primitive" mechanism of adaptation from the observations on the foraging life of the San, a people who have undergone prolong contact with agropastoralist economies. However, for any culture, how people behave in each other's presence and how they mutually deal with each other forms the fundamental grounds of their ethnicity. It is quite likely that the most essential features of San social behavior are expressed in the present conditions found in this sedentary community.

Secondly, any consideration of San social organization has to be challenged by the problem of territoriality. San territoriality has been discussed by various researchers, whose primary interest was focused on the appropriate access to resource and its allocation. (Heinz, 1972; Wilmsen, 1973; Barnard, 1979; Cashdan, 1983). Peterson (1979) criticizes that the studies of "cultural ecology" obscure the essential features of San territorial organization, making light of the significance of ideology. On the other hand, those paying attention to face-to-face situations propose that the any space actually occupied by the human body can be well characterized as a kind of territory, i.e., "micro-territory" (Goffman, 1971; Schefflen, 1975; cf. Hall, 1966). Such a viewpoint, as well as the interest in ideology, has been hitherto neglected in studies of San territoriality. In this paper, I shall examine San greeting in terms of social occasions accompanying the entrance into this micro-territory. In order to establish the behavioral grounds on which any argument about San territoriality should be set, it is indispensable to elucidate the ways in which the San perceive and deal with 'space', in their everyday life interactions.

The third point concerns the concept of "ground rules." Goffman has developed the concept of ground rules underlying everyday life behavior (Goffman, 1959, 1963, 1971). His observations are focused on American middle class society which radically differs from the small-scaled society of the San hunter-gatherers. But Goffman's insistence that any social order is ultimately based on whatever people do in the immediate physical presence of each other, might be quite valid for the study of any human society. Elucidation of the ground rules underlying San social life will contribute to a new perspective beyond "ecological parameters" toward an understanding of the essential features of "band society" (Guenther, 1985).

STUDY GROUP AND OBSERVATION METHODS

The source data were collected during approximately 6 months from August 1984

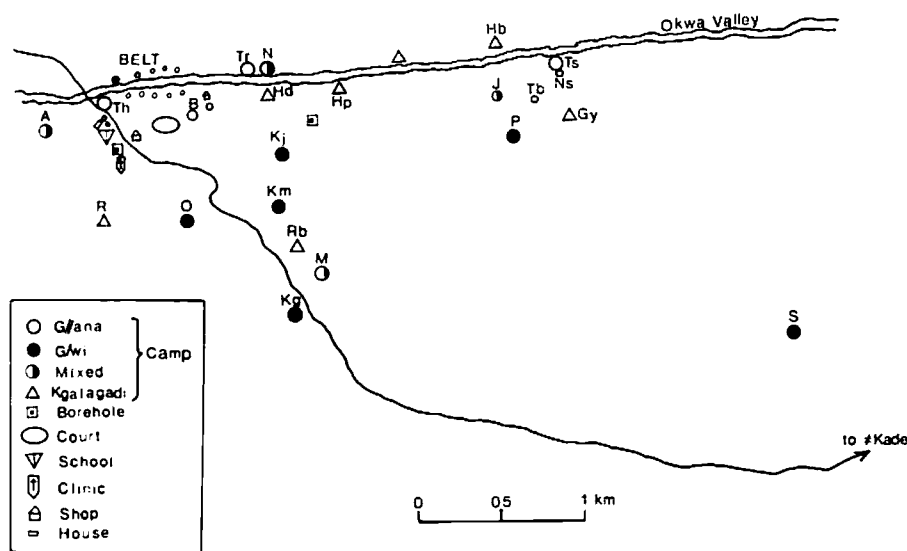


Fig. 1. Map of the study area, the !Koi!kom community.

to January 1985 at !Koi!kom. In order to analyze the longitudinal transition of visiting relations, data collected during previous research period (August 1982–February 1983) were used.

In this paper, I use the term 'camp' to refer to the residential group with a definite spatial coherence. In 1984, 18 camps of the San and 7 camps of the Kgalagadi who migrated from Gyom, Menoatse, and Metse-a-Manong, were scattered within an area of about 8 square kilometers (Fig. 1). Comparing the composition of camps with those ascertained in 1982, the following 2 points are to be noticed; 1) most camps have split into smaller parts, and 2) the distances of most camps from the 'core' !Koi!kom community, i.e., borehole, school, clinic, and other government houses, have increased. This general tendency might be attributed to the increase of social tension caused by high population density. Especially, a feeling of confrontation between the San and the Kgalagadi immigrants makes social conflict more likely to occur (Tanaka, 1987).

The tendency of dispersion and peripheralization is typically shown by my study group (Fig. 2). During the previous research period, I observed a G/wi group composed of 3 adjacent camps about 1 km southeast of the borehole. In the present period this group split up into 3 camps, i.e., P, Km, and S. Camp S is the most peripheral camp in this community, located about 4 km southeast from the borehole. A couple with their infant formed a small camp, Ns. Another old couple joined in a large camp, M; most residents of which are immigrant San from Menoatse.

I resided in Camp P, about 2 km east of the borehole. On every observation day, I recorded all cases of visiting from other camps to Camp P, from early morning (about 7:00 a.m.) until late evening (about 7:00 p.m.). The data thus collected are designated as the 'Visitor Diary'. Those cases where I could continuously (for more than 30 minutes) observe from the moment when visitors approached the camp to

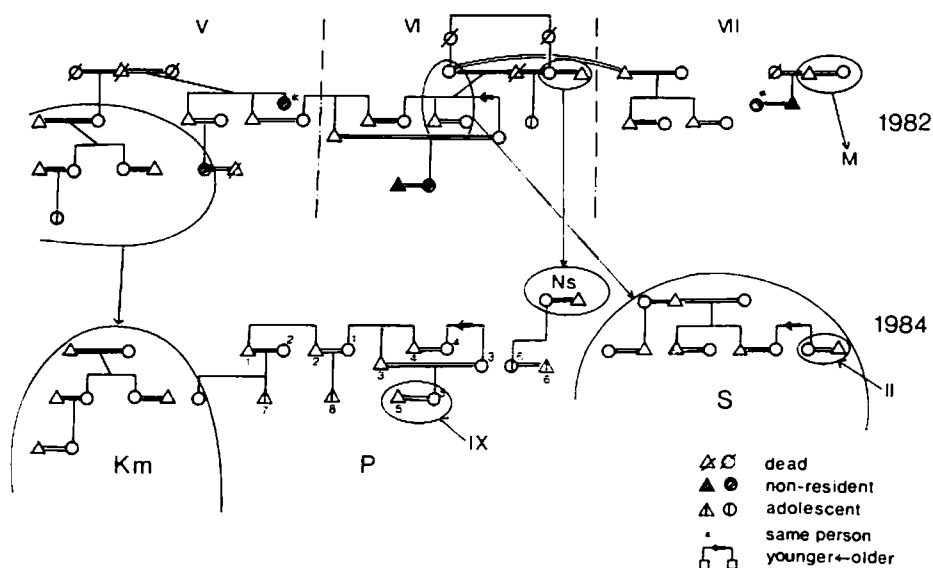


Fig. 2. Genealogy of the adult and adolescent members of the study group and change of membership from 1982 to 1984. Arabic figures indicate the relative age order within each sex and each camp in 1984. Roman figures and letters indicate names of camps in 1982 and 1984, respectively.

their leaving, are designated as the 'Visitor Sample'. Occasionally I followed the male residents of this camp who visited other camps, and recorded the social interactions and episodes occurring during their visit. This kind of data is designated as the 'Sortie Sample'.

Camp P is composed of about 30 individuals, including juveniles and infants. As was shown in Figure 2, 2 pairs of brothers and a pair of sisters constitute the 'core' of this camp. The adult and adolescent members of Camp P are listed in Table 1. All residents except one adult male, Gyu:be:, belong to the G/wi linguistic group.

SOCIAL RELATIONS AND SEXUAL DIFFERENCE IN VISITING ACTIVITY

1. Composition of Visitors at Camp P.

(1) Adolescent visitors

Table 2 shows all the cases of visiting at Camp P, observed for 108 days. Visiting occasions by men are far more frequent than by women. Similarly, total number of male visitors is greater than female visitors. This difference is due to the difference between adolescent males and females in visiting activity. That is, the cases of visiting by adolescent males amount to as much as 28 percent of the total cases of male visiting, whereas those cases by adolescent females amount to only 7.5 percent of female visitings. Seventeen adolescent males were observed to have visited Camp P, while only one adolescent female visited. Thus the adolescent men are far more active in visiting other camps than are women of the same generation.

Table 1. Adult and adolescent members of the study group (Camp P).

Male			Female		
No.	Name	Age grade	No.	Name	Age grade
1	Piri	old	1	kie!ko	adult
2	N≠uckukjue	adult	2	k'oeg//ae	adult
3	Chu:≠uma	adult	3	g//aekwe	adult
4	Kena:masi	adult	4	n//ôba	adult
5	Gyu:be:	adult	5	kxom	adult
6	//Kawashieho	adolescent	6	//narekieho	adolescent
7	Kire:ho	adolescent			
8	Tabu:ka	adolescent			

'No.' represents the relative age order of each individual within Camp P. Names of males and females are headed with capital and small letters, respectively.

Table 2. Number of visiting occasions and composition of visitors at Camp P.

Item	Observation	Male visitor	Female visitor
Number of cases	Total cases	313 (100.0)	226 (100.0)
	by adolescents	87 (27.8)	17 (7.5)
	by adults	226 (72.2)	209 (92.5)
Number of individuals	Total visitors	70 (100.0)	49 (100.0)
	adolescents	17 (24.3)	1 (2.0)
	adults	53 (75.7)	48 (98.0)
	Linguistic groups		
	G/wi	34 (48.6)	30 (61.2)
	G//ana	21 (30.0)	12 (24.5)
	Kgalagadi	15 (21.4)	7 (14.3)

The data are based on 108 observation days. Number of cases is represented by the number of days on which each individual at least once visited Camp P. Numbers in parentheses indicate the percentages in each subcategory.

Generally, in the San society men marry at an older age than do women, so that men can enjoy, or have to stay a bachelor longer after sexual maturity than do women (Tanaka, 1980). The difference in visiting frequency between both sexes at adolescence are not only due to the small number of available girls. Adolescent boys often form groups, wandering about from camp to camp on donkeys, while adolescent girls rarely form such cliques when they visit. Thus, the difference in the forms of social life between adolescent boys and girls is remarkably reflected in the visiting activity of this generation.

(2) Linguistic groups to which visitors belong

Table 2 also shows that more males than females belong to different linguistic groups. G//ana and Kgalagadi, than the residents visited. To examine this point in more detail, the correlation of the visiting frequency of each individual with the linguistic group to which he or she belongs, is shown in Figure 3. The common feature of both sexes is that the Kgalagadi are very infrequent visitors to Camp P. Their visiting occasions are very sporadic and made for ephemeral reasons. Namely, the Kgalagadi are not supposed to have a stable relationship with the residents of Camp P.

On the other hand, examining the composition of 'frequent visitors', i.e., those who visited more than 9 times, the sexual difference is striking. All of the 8 frequent

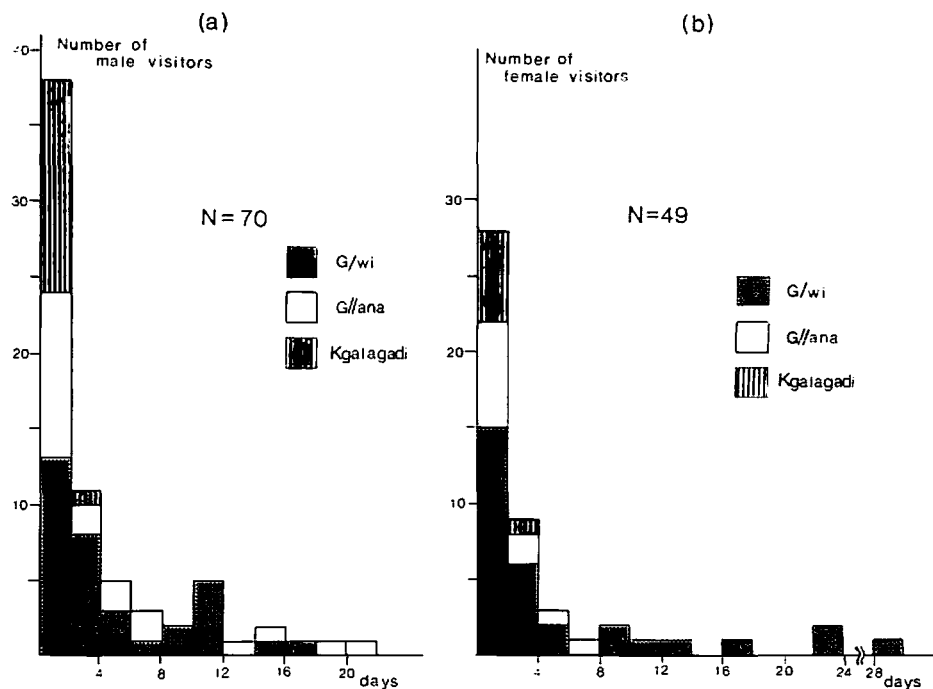


Fig. 3. Histograms of day frequencies of visiting to Camp P by (a) male, and (b) female visitors belonging to 3 different linguistic groups.

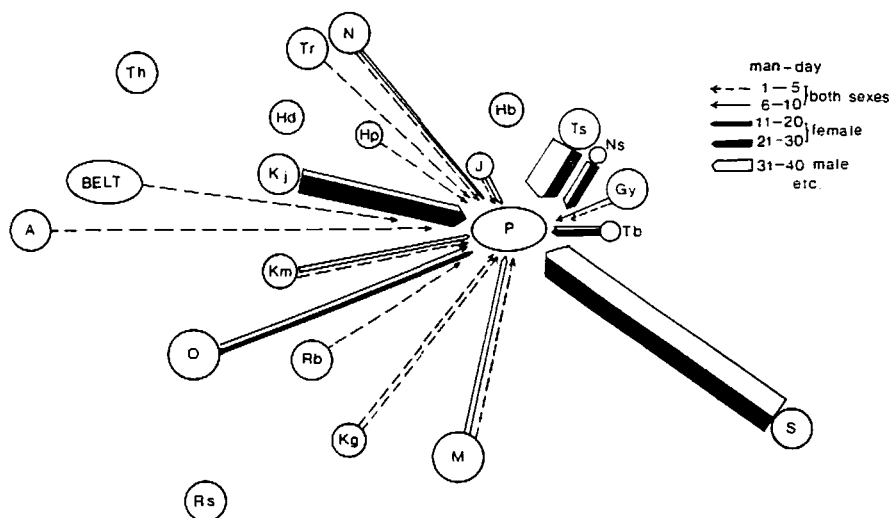


Fig. 4. Frequencies of visiting to Camp P from other camps. White and black bars represent visiting occasions by males and females, respectively.

female visitors belong to the same linguistic group, G/wi, as the residents of this camp. Whereas, about one-third of the 13 frequent male visitors belong to the G//ana linguistic group. This point suggests that the range of social intercourse among females is almost completely restricted to the same linguistic group, while male social relationships range beyond the boundary of their linguistic group.

2. Social Relations of Camp P with Other Camps in Terms of Visiting Frequency

Figure 4 shows the total frequencies of visiting occasions at Camp P from other respective camps. The most frequent visiting was made to Camp P from camps, i.e., S, Ts, and Kj. Moreover, examining the 'Sortie Sample', it is evident that the male

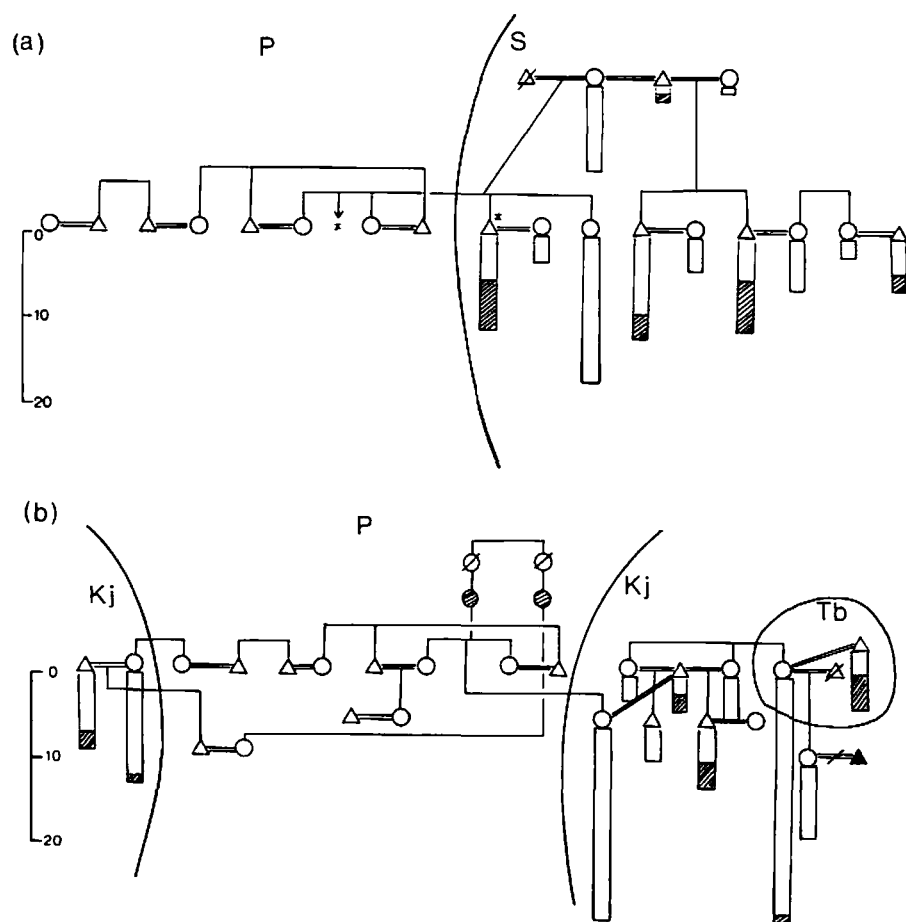


Fig. 5. Kinship relations of Camp P with Camp S (a) and Camp Kj (b). Shaded circles represent non-resident females. Bars represent the frequencies of visiting by each individual. Shaded bars represent the occasions where greeting occurred.

residents of Camp P very often visit these 3 camps. Therefore, Camp P has a very strong relationship with these 3 camps: maintained by frequent and reciprocal visiting. Respective relationships between Camp P and each of these 3 camps can be characterized as follows:

(1) Camp S

Camp S, having the strongest social bond with Camp P, is connected to the latter camp by both mother-offspring, and sibling ties (Fig. 5-a). During the previous research period, the mother and her offspring—3 daughters and one son, were living in the same camp, Camp VI (see Fig. 2). The members of both of these 2 camps originated from a common homeland around the Kxaochwe pan more than 50 km south of !Koi!kom (Tanaka, personal comm.). Thus frequent visiting to Camp P by members of Camp S was based on a persistent bond between these 2 groups.

(2) Camp Kj

Visiting by women from Camp Kj predominated those occasions by men. The bond between these 2 camps was based on 2 female sibling ties (Fig. 5-b). The women of Camp Kj very frequently visited Camp P and, when going to gather wild food plants, often joined the female residents of the latter camp. Moreover, female residents of Camp P usually dropped in at Camp Kj. Thus the strong bond between these 2 camps was primarily based on the close social intercourse between females.

(3) Camp Ts

Camp Ts is mainly composed of G//ana-speaking people whose homeland is Gyom, about 115 km northeast of !Koi!kom. In the above section, I have pointed out that the frequent male visitors to Camp P included 4 G//ana-speaking men. Three of them were residents of Camp Ts.

The 'head' of Camp Ts owns the most goats in the !Koi!kom community. A half-brother of this 'great goat-owner', Gyube, is the most skillful horse-and-spear hunter in !Koi!kom (Osaki, 1984). Thus, Camp Ts is the most 'affluent' camp in the community. Although the residents of Camp P have no direct kinship relations with the members of Camp Ts, there is no doubt that they have had been acquainted with each other for many years.⁽¹⁾ But such a previous acquaintance is not thought to be the primary factor prompting the development of such strong relationship between these 2 camps. More important, is the recent social and economic conditions in the !Koi!kom community, as specified below:

a) Spatial organization: Both camps have the common preference for the peripheral position in the !Koi!kom community. Camp Ts manages many goats, which everyday foraged in the bush around the community. Residents of Camp P, even now, strongly depend on collecting wild food plants and bow-and-arrow hunting. A peripheral position is convenient for them not only to sortie to the bush but to avoid the social tensions incidental to life in the midst of the community.

b) Labor: Adolescent male residents of Camp P often work in Camp Ts managing goats or building fences. They are paid by necessities such as clothes or, very rarely,

a small wage. Less frequently, adult male residents of Camp P processed the skin of goats which were butchered in Camp Ts.

c) Cooperative hunting: A middle-aged man, Chu: ≠ uma, in Camp P is an excellent hunter using traditional bow and arrow. Chu: ≠ uma sometimes cooperates with the skillful horse-and-spear hunter, Gyube, on hunting expeditions.

Thus, the 'symbiotic' relationship between Camps Ts and P represents a new pattern of association between different camps. One which is recently established through the sedentary life in the !Koi!kom community.

(4) Estranged camps

Contrary to the above 3 camps, there are several camps which have little relationship with Camp P. That is, the members of Camps Tr, Th, A, Rs, and Rb, or those who are living in the 'Belt', rarely visited Camp P. These people amount to 39 percent of all the San men and 33 percent of the women whom I had identified. They contributed to only 1.9 percent of the total visiting occasions by adult men and 0.5 percent of the occasions by adult women. In the following section, I shall examine what kind of kinship relations the members of these estranged camps have with the residents of Camp P.

3. Correlation between Visiting Frequency and Kinship Distance

In 1984, I identified 82 adult men and 102 adult women living in camps other than P, and ascertained their genealogical relationships. They are estimated to be more than 90 percent of all the San people living in !Koi!kom. I have also identified 21 adult men and 11 adult women of the Kgalagadi, but they are excluded from the following analysis.

These 82 men and 102 women are classified into 4 kinship categories from the viewpoint of the adult residents of Camp P, i.e., consanguines, primary affines, secondary affines, and non-kins. The definitions of these categories are given elsewhere (Sugawara, 1984). The viewpoints of 2 male residents are not adopted: one is an adult man belonging to the G//ana linguistic group and another is a young adult man who has recently married an adolescent girl of Camp P and begun to reside in this camp.

Of the kinship categories to which each non-resident belongs, the closest category from the viewpoint of each male and female is regarded as the kinship distance between him (her) and Camp P (Table 3). Examining the correlation between visiting frequency and kinship distance, the first point to be noted is that the visiting frequencies of non-kin persons are significantly low. More than 72 percent of these non-kin persons are living in 'estranged camps' described in the above section. On the other hand, about 70 percent of the residents of the 'estranged camps' are non-kin persons. Therefore it is concluded that about 30–40 percent of all adults in the !Koi!kom community have very weak relationships with Camp P, and most of these people are at a great kinship distance from both male and female residents thereof. In the following discussion, these people are designated as 'alienated others' for Camp P.

Table 3. Correlation between visiting frequency and kinship distance of each non-residents from the residents of Camp P.

Kinship distance	Viewpoints of male residents				Viewpoints of female residents			
	Number of persons	Visiting frequency	χ^2	Significant level	Number of persons	Visiting frequency	χ^2	Significant level
Male non-residents								
Consanguines	0 (0.0)	/	/	/	1 (1.2)	11 (5.2)	27.65	+++
Primary affines	32 (39.0)	93 (44.1)	1.38	ns	26 (31.7)	81 (38.4)	2.97	ns
Secondary affines	17 (22.0)	90 (42.6)	41.19	+++	20 (24.4)	85 (40.3)	21.86	+++
Non-kins	32 (39.0)	28 (13.3)	35.86	---	35 (42.7)	34 (16.1)	34.50	---
Total	82	211	78.43	0.001	82	211	87.38	0.001
Female non-residents								
Consanguines	10 (9.8)	9 (4.5)	5.65	—	6 (5.9)	73 (36.7)	327.17	+++
Primary affines	34 (33.3)	143 (71.9)	88.73	+++	34 (33.3)	36 (18.1)	13.85	---
Secondary affines	21 (20.6)	36 (18.1)	0.61	ns	25 (24.5)	85 (42.7)	26.85	+++
Non-kins	37 (36.3)	11 (5.5)	51.88	---	37 (36.3)	5 (2.5)	62.55	---
Total	102	199	146.87	0.001	102	199	424.42	0.001

Numbers in parentheses indicate the percentages in each column. '+' or '-' shows that the observed frequency of visiting in each cell is significantly greater or smaller than the expectations; + + +, ---: $p < 0.001$; +, -: $p < 0.02$ ($df = 1$).

The strongest correlation between visiting frequency and kinship relation is obtained from the female consanguines of resident women, in that they quite frequently visit Camp P. This point demonstrates that a substantial part of female visiting activity is based on consanguineous relationships among women. Unfortunately, the male residents of Camp P, except a G//ana man (Gyu:be:), have no male consanguines in other camps, so it is impossible to directly estimate the influence of consanguineous ties among men on male visiting activity.

Another conspicuous feature of female visiting is that the female consanguines of resident men very rarely visit Camp P. From the viewpoint of a San woman, her male consanguines residing in other camps might not be such attractive partners for her to visit.

4. Longitudinal Transition in Visiting Relations

In this section, I shall examine the longitudinal transition of relations between camps, comparing the composition of visitors ascertained in 1984 with what was ascertained in 1982. The visiting occasions by Kgalagadi people will be excluded from the following analysis. In '82 I kept the 'Visitor Diary' for 61 days at Camps V, VI, and VII during the dry season. Forty adult men visited these camps 129 times, and 37 adult women visited 96 times. In '84 40 adult men visited Camp P 189 times, while 41 adult women visited 191 times. On the average, in '82, 2.1 men and 1.6 women

visited the subject group per day, while in '84 1.8 men and women respectively visited Camp P per day.

In '84 Camp P included less than half the number of original residents of the group in '82. Therefore it might be problematic to compare the composition of visitors between 2 research periods. But in '82 the 3 camps, V, VI, and VII, were so proximate to each other that most visitors who visited one of these camps entered the other 2 camps as well. Therefore it is very likely that they had met the present members of Camp P during their visit in '82. Thus the following comparison will be useful in elucidating the longitudinal transition of the range of other people whom the present members of Camp P have encountered daily.

I identified 88 men and 104 women who were present at !Koi!kom in either '82 or '84. Those who have been the members of the study group in both years are excluded from these 192 people. They are classified into 4 grades, i.e., Frequent, Occasional, Rare, and Never, according to their visiting frequency during each period. Another 2 grades are distinguished: one is Resident, which includes those who were the resident of the subject group, and the other is Absent, which includes those who were not present at !Koi!kom during either period.

Table 4 shows the change of grades from '82-'84, to which each person belongs. The first point to be noticed is that a number of people never visit the subject group. Of those who were present at !Koi!kom in both years, 31.6 percent (24/76) of the men and 40.6 percent (41/101) of the women did not visit Camp P during these two periods. Of those, included in the Never grade in both years, 87.5 percent (21/24) of the men and 70.7 percent (29/41) of the women were residents of the 'estranged camps' in '84. This point demonstrates that the set of 'alienated others' defined in the above section consistently maintained an 'alienated' relationship with the subject group for a considerable long period.

Table 4. Transition of visiting frequency of each non-resident at Camp P from 1982 to 1984.

(a) Number of male non-residents.

1982	1984	Res.	Freq.	Occ.	Rare	Never	Abs.	Total
Resident	—	5	1	1	1	1	0	8
Frequent	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	9
Occasional	0	0	1	7	7	3	18	
Rare	0	0	2	4	4	3	13	
Never	0	1	4	6	24	0	35	
Absent	0	0	1	1	3	—	5	
Total	1	7	13	20	40	7	88	

(b) Number of female non-residents

1982	1984	Res.	Freq.	Occ.	Rare	Never	Abs.	Total
Resident	—	2	3	2	4	0	11	
Frequent	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	
Occasional	0	2	6	3	5	1	17	
Rare	0	0	1	3	9	1	14	
Never	0	1	3	13	41	0	58	
Absent	0	0	0	0	1	—	1	
Total	1	6	13	21	61	2	104	

Non-residents are classified into the grades according to their visiting frequencies at Camp P. In 1984, Frequent: ≥ 10 ; Occasional: 3-9; Rare: 1-2; in 1982, Freq. ≥ 6 ; Occasional: 2-5; Rare: 1.

Second, some of the people who belonged to the same group as the present residents in '82, tended to frequently visit Camp P in '84. However, other previous co-members rarely or never visited Camp P. This alienating tendency is especially conspicuous among women. More than a half the number of women (6/11) who had been previous co-members never or rarely visited Camp P in '84. Evident signs of social conflict were observed between the residents of Camp P and individuals who have become estranged from them.

Third, the subject group has a number of 'stable partners', i.e., those who frequently visited the subject group in both years. Six men who are included in this category reside in 5 different camps, while most of the 8 women included in this category reside in only one camp, i.e., Camp Kj. This point again exemplifies that the range of social intercourse among women is conspicuously smaller than that of men.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSACTIONS

This section deals with various kinds of transactions which are realized through the visiting activity. By the term 'transaction', I mean any interaction between visitor and resident which are enacted for some practical purpose.

The first type of transaction which can be most easily identified by the observer is an economic one, such as giving and receiving goods, serving and consuming food or drinks, aid for labor, and barter.

The second type of transaction refers to several kinds of physical contact, such as grooming, play-fighting, and flirting: behaviors which are supposed to display or reinforce the affiliative bond between the participants. Round smoking might be an intermediate of the above 2 types, because it not only gives rise to pleasure among the participants, but also involves giving and consuming goods, i.e., tobacco leaves.

1. Visiting Occasions at Camp P (Visitor Sample)

Table 5 shows 22 cases of the Visitor Sample, and the frequencies of 8 kinds of transactions observed in each case. The following description is primarily based on the data presented in Table 5, but anecdotal observations will also be referred to.

(1) Round smoking

Round smoking is the most frequent form of transaction between visitors and residents, occurring in 72.7 percent (16/22) of the Visitor Sample. It occurred about once per hour (0.85 times/hour). In principle, all adults present in the scene participate in round smoking. It is examined when each of the 39 visitors, whom I could observe continuously from their arrival to their leaving the scene, participated in the first occasion of round smoking. All of the first occasions of round smoking occurred within 50 minutes of the visitors' appearance. Fifty percent of these occasions occurred within only 15 minutes. The average duration of visitor's stay is 14.9 minutes before the first occasion of round smoking, and 41.9 minutes after that.

The temptation to smoke tobacco is overwhelming for most of the San. They inhale to be intoxicated, with strong pleasure, even though they often frown or cough painfully. Thus the experience of such 'communal pleasure' might be useful for stabilizing

Table 5. Social and economic transactions between visitor and resident observed in Camp P (Visitor Samples).

No.	Visitor		Resident		Dur. (min)	Types of transaction							
	M	F	M	F		Smoke	Donate	Feed	Water	Groom	Help	Joke	Child
V1	6		2	2	70	1	3						
V2	1	1	1		75								4
V3	1	1	1	2	40		(2)	1					
V4	1		2	2	40	1							1
V5	2	2		2	115	1 (1)		2	1	12	1	1	1
V6	2	1	4	5	110	1 (2)			1			1	
V7	2	3	3	5	105	(2)	2		1	3			
V8	1		2	1	65	1							
V9	9		8		55	1							
V10	1	4	4		205	1 (2)		2			2		
V11	1	5	5	3	125	2	(1)	2	1	4			
V12	3	5	3	4	125	1 (1)		1 (1)		6		1	
V13	1	2	3		85	2 (1)	(1)	2 (1)			8		
V14	1		3		85			1					
V15	3	3	1	5	190	2		2	1	13		1	
V16	1		6		55	2	2						
V17		4		3	35	1				3			
V18	6		5	1	130	(1)	1	1					
V19	2		2		85		1		1				
V20	2		7		45	1						1	
V21	2		5	1	80						3		1
V22	3		6		60								3
Total	51	31	73	36	1980	18 (10) [16]	9 (4) [8]	14 (2) [9]	6 [6]	41 [6]	14 [4]	5 [5]	10 [5]

The frequencies of transaction are represented by the numbers of observation unit (5 min each). Figures in parentheses indicate the cases where visitor supplied residents with goods or food. Figures in squared parentheses indicate the number of samples in which each kind of transaction occurred at least once. Smoke: round smoking; Donate: giving and receiving goods; Feed: serving food; Water: serving water; Groom: grooming (picking-off lice); Help: aid for labor; Joke: joking behavior; Child: seeking the contact with children.

or activating the scene. In this sense, round smoking may be functioning as the 'ceremony' which welcomes the visitor into the scene and establishes a peaceful coalition between visitor and resident.

(2) Giving and receiving goods

As for food, it was observed that the residents actually give the visitors such items as 'meat' (*k/a:*), 'maize flour' (*mai*), and 'tobacco leaves' (*syui*). All of these items were not consumed then and there, but brought home by the visitor. As for goods other than the food, the delivery of such items as an 'axe' (*bô*), 'small axe' (*n/ubi*), and the blade of a 'spear' (*kxaoi*), was actually observed. However, the delivery of goods other than food includes cases of lending-and-borrowing.

Giving-and-receiving-meat occurs not so frequently but is of special importance as an economic transaction between Camp P and other camps. I have witnessed several times that a large portion of the meat obtained by hunters of Camp P was brought home by male visitors from Camp Kj. This fact suggests that the residents of Camp P might be in debt to those of Camp Kj for various matters, one of which being 'alcoholic drink' and the 'dependence of offspring.' Alcoholic drink was sometimes made in Camp Kj and was served to male visitors from Camp P. Several children of Camp P were staying in Camp Kj for many days, dependent on their aunts (MZ).

The maize flour is also an important object for economic transactions, closely associated with subsistence in the sedentary community. The Remote Area Development Office (RADO) supplies each household with several bags (12.5 kg each) of maize flour about once every 2 months. But all the households in !Koi!kom do not share in the distribution every time. Those households which had been sufficiently rationed by the previous distribution might fail to get the new ration, whether or not they have consumed all their maize. The latter households make do, borrowing maize from those who are supplied with enough. The episodes of borrowing and repayment of maize flour were observed between resident and visitor at Camp P. In some cases the resident gave meat to the visitor in return for the maize flour.

(3) Serving food and water

In 40.9 percent (9/22) of the Visitor Sample, the resident served food and the visitor consumed it. The food observed to be served were pieces of meat, porridge of maize flour (*paritsi*), *lom/é* root (*Cucumis kalahariensis*), and pieces of 'tsama melon' (*n/lan*; *Citrullus lanatus*). Thus the visitor at Camp P usually could not expect to be served much food. In 27.3 percent of all cases (6/22), the visitor begged and received a cup of water. The residents usually express their reluctance to give water, saying "There is no water", or "There remains little water", but they never reject a visitor's request. Thus the water is the very object that the visitor can beg most easily and for which visitor's request is most likely to be fulfilled, because it can be certainly obtained in the sedentary community.

(4) Aid for labor

It was sometimes observed that the visitor helped the resident in such manual labor

as skin-rubbing, manufacturing a plough, or repairing a 'finger piano' (*dengu*). Especially, adolescent visitors tended to be ready to work for the residents.

(5) Affiliative body contact

In 27.3 percent (6/22) of the Visitor Samples, grooming interactions occurred between female visitors and female residents. All of these grooming episodes occurred in the groups which included 2 or more female visitors and residents, respectively. Thus the gathering of many women brings about a comfortable atmosphere which enables the participants to be involved in such prolonged and hedonic face-to-face interaction as grooming (Sugawara, 1984).

The second type of physical contact to be noticed is called *giba-ku*, which means 'sit in contact with each other'. When two participants are involved in the *giba-ku* interaction, both sit cross-legged and one puts their thigh and knee on another's thigh. The typical pattern of *giba-ku* is frequently observed between the residents of the same sex in very affiliative relationships with each other. In the context of visiting, the most interesting is the *giba-ku* interaction between siblings-in-law of the opposite sex.

Marshall (1976) maintains that the joking relationship is applied to siblings-in-law of the opposite sex among the !Kung San. But my previous study affirmed that bodily contact rarely occurred among these dyads within the camp (Sugawara, 1984). However, if a woman's brother-in-law is living in another camp, affiliative body contact, i.e., *giba-ku*, often occurs between them when he visits her camp. In a case from the Visitor Sample (V1), it was observed that a male visitor from Camp KJ sat in contact with his sister-in-law and enthusiastically talked with her, patting her right knee with his right fist.

Another verb, *nya:tsa*, is almost synonymous with *giba* (sit in contact with), but is often used in a more distinctively sexual context. A man with sexual ambition may *nya:tsa* ('caress') a woman whom he is thinking of, and, if she rejects his intention, she may cry, "Do not touch me" (*Kyua kya nya:tsa*). A typical *nya:tsa* interaction as a form of 'petting' was observed in an anecdotal case between an adolescent male visitor and an adolescent female resident within the latter's hut. They lied side by side and the girl wreathed her legs around the boy's waist or rubbed his hip. Afterward the boy pinned her to the sand and thrust his knee into her thighs and pushed her groin with his palm. It is judged that they were merely playing with each other jokingly, because they neither showed any signs of sexual excitement nor did they mind my presence at all. Anyhow, the most important point implied by *giba-ku* and *nya:tsa* interactions is that the visiting is a specific social occasion in which the sexual potential of visitor-resident relationships can be realized.

The third type of bodily contact occurs in a distinctive pattern of interaction called *//gaikari-ku*. Typically, *//gaikari-ku* means the play fighting between adolescent or pubescent boys which is performed in a way similar to a boxing match, but the verbal exchange of jokes or quasi abuse is also referred to by the same term. Namely, *//gaikari-ku* represents the most exact behavior for the 'joking relation'. Although the *//gaikari-ku* interaction occurred between resident and visitor in only 22.7 percent

(5/22) of the Visitor Sample, it was often observed anecdotally when the adolescent men visited Camp P.

2. Visiting Occasions by the Residents of Camp P at Other Camps (Sortie Sample)

Accompanying the male residents of Camp P to visit other camps 19 times, I have continuously recorded the social interactions in which they were involved during their visiting (Table 6). When the visitors depart from their own camp, they often declare the purpose of their visit. The usual expression is: "Let's visit X's camp, and beg some meat (tobacco, maize flour, etc.)." More than a half of the Sortie Sample consists of the cases where the purpose of visiting was specified by the visitors themselves. It is interesting to note that the visitors often declared the purpose to be 'labor' (*tše:*), as well as begging goods such as meat, tobacco, or tea.

The first type of labor to be done during the visit is the cooperative task for which both the visitor and the resident bear equal right and duty. For example, Chu:≠uma visited Camp Ts on 2 successive days, processing game meat or making skin ropes in cooperation with Gyube, the partner of a hunting expedition to the Kxaochwe pan (S16 and S17).

The second type of visitor's labor is to help the Kgalagadi resident with the latter's work, expecting some reward. The visitors are, as it were, employed by the day, to deal with the arduous work such as building fences around the field (S10b), or processing hides (S19). The primary reward for the visitor's labor is alcoholic drink. Such a form of transaction reveals a conspicuous aspect of acculturation into the sedentary community.

On the other hand, to visit other camps in order to beg for goods seems to be concordant with the traditional style of visiting activity (Tanaka, 1980). However, the visitor does not always make an effort to achieve the goal set by themselves. As a consequence, it rarely occurs that the goods given by the resident are brought home by the visitor ($4/18 = 22.2\%$). But it often occurs that the resident serves a small amount of food and the visitor consumes it then and there ($14/18 = 77.8\%$). The frequency of 'serving food' per observation time was 0.47 times/hour in the Sortie Sample, being almost equal to the frequency in the Visitor Sample: 0.42 times/hour. However, in the Visitor Sample the 14 episodes of 'serving food' involved 11 different visitors, while in the Sortie Sample 20 of 22 episodes involved 2 specific individuals, Piri and Chu:≠uma, on whom my observation had focused.

Thus, from the viewpoint of each visitor, he can choose, among several available camps, one camp from which he can expect most certainly to obtain the material rewards sought after. If this is true, the visitor's apparent goal, to beg something, is achieved to some degree. The following case reveals the characteristics of material transaction between visitor and resident.

Case 1 (S6). Three men (C, K and N) visited Camp M together. They stayed in front of H's hut for about 50 minutes. Five men and 4 women had gathered there. N and K sat inside of the fence around the hut, but only C sat outside of it. Only N was served meat and porridge. About 45 minutes after their arrival, as soon as one of the women began to fill her pipe, C decidedly stood up and entered within the fence, participating in the round smoking. Leaving this gathering, the 3 men successively visited 3 different huts, O1, O2, and T. Finally N parted from C and K, and returned to T's hut from which they had just come out of. After briefly

Table 6. Focal visitor observations in other camps than the study group (Sortie Samples).

No.	Visitor's name	Camp	Durat. (min)	Purpose declared	Goods brought	Goods donated	Food served	Smoke	Water
S1	Chu:≠uma with 3 men	Kj	10				porridge		
S2	Piri, Kire:ho	Hb	120 ⁺	Work	skin	tobacco			+
S3*	Shie:ho	Kj	60 ⁺	Beg					+
S4	Piri, Kire:ho	Ts	185			tobacco		2	
S5	Chu:≠uma	Kj	a) 23 b) 46				porridge		
S6	Chu:≠uma with 2 men	M	150	Beg		meat	meat, porridge	1	+
S7*	Chu:≠uma, Kena:masi	Ts	—	Observation was interrupted					
S8	Piri	Ts	105				porridge	1	
S9	Piri	a) Gy	45					1	
		b) Ts	145				dried meat	1	
S10	Chu:≠uma	a) J	(5)	Passing					
	Shie:ho	b) Hb	65 ⁺	Work			wine		
S11	Piri	S	205 ⁺	Beg			porridge, meat	1	+
S12	Piri	S	230	Beg	skin			1	+
	N≠uekukjue						blood soup		
S13	Piri with 3 men	S	255	Beg		tobacco	meat, wine	2	
S14	Piri, Kire:ho	Ts	175	Barter				1	
S15	Piri	a) O	80	Beg			candy	2	
		b) Km	(5)	Passing					
		c) Kg	(5)	Passing					
S16	Chu:≠uma	Kj	187				meat, wine	1	
S17	Chu:≠uma	Ts	195	Work			porridge		
S18	Chu:≠uma	Ts	170	Work	tendon		dried meat	2	
S19	Chu:≠uma	a) J	(5)	Passing					
	Kena:masi	b) Hp	173 ⁺	Work			tea, wine		
Total	—	24	2624	[12]	[3]	[4]	[14]	17 [13]	[5]

Figures in square parentheses indicate the number of cases where each item was observed at least once. The focal visitor of S3 is not the resident of Camp P. Samples with asterisk were excluded from the quantitative analysis.

conversing with T who was inside the hut, N took the ribs of a gemsbock which had been hanging on the roof, and immediately went back home.

Thus, things goes on as if it were self-evident and commonly understood who should be served food or who can receive meat. From the viewpoint of the resident, it is not necessary at all to treat the visitors impartially. Even if several visitors behave in a team, the devices of the resident to deal with them are constructed on the basis of dyadic relations between himself and each visitor.

The above argument might have put too much emphasis on the material reward which is brought about by visiting activity. Usually the goods received by the visitor are of so small amount that they exert little influence on the subsistence of the visitor. Therefore we should pay as much attention to another kind of 'reward' brought about by the social transaction during visiting.

Case 2 (S6). N, C, and K entered T's hut in which another 3 male visitors had already gathered. All of the 7 men, including the host (T), sat around, squeezing one another into a narrow space. They talked and laughed cheerfully. A young adult man from Camp P and an adolescent boy from Camp S successively joined in this crowded gathering. The young adult enacted 'play-fighting' (*//gaikari-ku*) with an adult visitor, or bantered the host when he broke wind, holding the back of his neck and emitting the onomatopoeia. The adolescent boy tried to sit on the crossed legs of C, and C rejected his attempt, poking at the boy's hip. The boy sat in face-to-face contact with C, and they talked with each other, harmoniously smiling.

The above episode reveals the delight of visiting for its own sake. Visiting certainly affords both the visitor and resident "the pleasure of seeing people they like to be with" (Marshall, 1976: p. 180), even though it has become too ordinary an event within the sedentary community. On the other hand, when the San visit the Kgalagadi camps with an expectation of some reward for their labor, the visitor-resident interaction stands in sharp contrast to the pleasurable transaction.

Case 3 (S2). P visited Camp Hb with his adolescent son, Kr, bringing 6 steenbock skin which he had undertaken to process by request of a Kgalagadi man (Hb) living in this camp. He found his client absent, and waited for Hb to come back for more than 2 hours, sitting in front of another Kgalagadi man (G) resting on a chair who was suffering from a fractured arm. P complimentarily talked to G, taking up the topic of 'fractured bones' again and again, but G gave little response, but for an occasional brusque "backchannel" (Yngve, 1970). Finally, G moved with his chair to the shade of a tree more than 10 meters away from P.

P's persistent attempt to seek the topic which can be shared with G may be regarded as the expression of his effort to establish friendly relationships with the Kgalagadi people. The more important point, however, is that P decidedly chose to stay and wait for his client to come back. Thus, when the visitor is confident that he has the right to demand something, his stay in another camp is legitimated.

FACE-TO-FACE INTERACTION

The social and economic transactions described in the above chapter are actually embedded in the total system of face-to-face interactions between visitor and resident. In this chapter, I shall depict some essential forms of visitor-resident interaction and elucidate the ground rules governing them.

1. Characteristics of Proxemic Behavior of Visitors: The Camp as a Micro-Territory

The following case impressed me with the essential features of the proxemic behavior of visitors.

Case 4. One morning, 2 adult women (!kaoba and kxom) and 3 pubescent girls departed Camp P to visit Camp S. They told me that they were going to beg for some meat of an eland which was killed by a man of Camp S the day before. Arriving at Camp S, I found 4 residents, including kxom's grandmother and younger aunt, who were sitting in the shade at the center of camp. I was about to approach straightforward there, but kxom held back me, saying "Let's go in this way, Sugawara". The visitors turned aside to the left to sit in a big patch of shade about 15 meters away from the residents. Six minutes later, kxom's grandmother approached the visitors, sitting in proximity of a pubescent girl, and began to talk with them.

It was evident that the visitors avoided approaching straightforward to the spot where the residents were gathered. Namely, this case suggests that some kind of ground rules govern the proxemic behavior of visitors, so as to make them refrain from immediately intruding into a space occupied by the residents.

Although in a subtler way than the above case, visitors often show a tendency to sit away from the gathering of residents, or at its marginal position (Photo 1). For understanding such a tendency, it would be valid to formulate the spatial organization of the camp as a micro-territory occupied by the residents. The term territory is used here in the broadest sense. The 'defense' or 'aggression' by the occupant, which is usually resorted to in order to define the territory, are not relevant here. Rather, the camp is best characterized as the space which is almost exclusively used by the residents throughout the day. Although visitors frequently intrude into this space, their consistent hesitation to approach its 'core' is evidence of some latent and psychological barrier existing around this space.

The camp as a micro-territory is not a uniform space, but has a multi-layered structure. First, the most exterior part is the 'boundary' which encompasses all of the camp, even though it is not distinctly marked by any physical barrier such as a fence. This boundary is far much farther out than the physical clearance of the camp, and made visible when an outsider 'passes' (*n!ae:*) the camp. The passerby, who does not intend to enter the camp, goes around, without glancing inside, through the bushes away from the camp.

Second, the shade under a big tree forms the 'core area' within the camp, where most of the residents often gather. This spot is the most 'public' micro-territory to which every resident equally can lay claim.

Third, the space surrounding each hut, especially the area in front of its entrance, forms a micro-territory preferentially occupied by the hut owner. Not only the visitor but also the resident of the same camp, tend to sit at the periphery of this area with the owner closer to the entrance (Photo 2).

Finally, the inside of a hut forms the most strict micro-territory. At night the couple have sexual intercourse within the hut, so that even their offsprings are to be excluded from this 'private space' after reaching pubescence. Pubescent and adolescent boys and girls sleep behind a simple fence (*≠hai*) or within a hut built by themselves. Visitors, and residents other than the hut owners, seem to respect the interior space of the hut, as they seldom attempt to enter it. It is a common sight, for a visitor or a



(a)



(b)



(c)

Photo 1. Examples of spacing behavior of visitors. The visitor is sitting on the right end (a, c), or the left end (b).



Photo 2. An example of spacing behavior of visitor and resident in front of a hut. H: the owner of this hut; R: a male resident of this camp; V: an adolescent male visitor.

resident to sit leaning against the log frame of the entrance, sometimes with their legs stretched out into the hut, to talk with the owner who rests or does some manual work inside.

But the respect for private space by persons other than the occupant is only one side of the coin. Another side, is the unwillingness of the occupant to withdraw into the hut. During the day, the residents seem to remain outdoors, either to work or to rest, for as long as possible. It has been often emphasized that the social life of the San is extremely communal, with individual privacy being minimal (Draper, 1976). The most important point is, not however that they are unable to preserve the private space, but that the San are willing to expose themselves to others' eyes. The effort to neutralize the effect of the micro-territory sheltering oneself from others' eyes, might be grounded on the egalitarian value which abhors hiding and monopolizing goods or food.

2. Greeting Interaction

If the camp functions as a multi-layered micro-territory, those who intend to enter into it need to somehow gain acknowledgement by its occupants, of their stay. The greeting interaction is the most representative way in which such acknowledgement is established. In the following analysis, I shall consider the situation where someone enters a scene already occupied by one or more persons. Such a situation is defined as an 'encounter'. The person who enters is designated as a 'newcomer', and those who are already present as 'attendants'.

(1) The basic patterns of greeting interaction

The basic patterns of greeting interaction are summarized in Table 7. The most essential is the 'one-to-one greeting' (\neq *kai-kaho*)⁽²⁾ which consists of the sequential

Table 7. Basic patterns of greeting interaction.

Stage I. Initial salutation (G/wi & G//ana)			(English)
!dom			accept
kjua:n			rest
kxoi/a			rest?
g//a:*			rest
moro, mera, dumer**			hello
Stage II. One-to-one greeting (G/wi & G//ana)			(English)
A	B		
≠Kai?			Fine?
	≠Kai (kwa)		Fine,
	Tsam ≠kaya:ha?		and you?
≠Kai			Fine.
Stage III. Formal greeting			
P		Q	
Telling recent conditions		e:, e:, e:, ...	(backchannel)
e:, e:, e:, ...		Telling...	
	[both in a plaintive tone]		

A and B, or P and Q, indicate 2 participants.

*A word originating from Nharon language; **Vocabularies originating from Setswana.

exchange of question and response between two persons (Stage II). The one-to-one greeting is sometimes preceded by the 'initial salutation' (Stage I). While one-to-one greeting is strictly a dyadic interaction, the initial salutation is addressed by the newcomer to all of the attendants, and is not necessarily responded by them.

Further, the one-to-one greeting is occasionally followed by the 'formal greeting' in which each participant in turn reports his own recent conditions or events in a very plaintive tone peculiar to this interaction (Stage III). During this research period, I observed formal greeting in only 5.2 percent (8/154) of all 'encounters' in which any greeting interactions occurred. However, in the previous hunting-gathering life, when camps were widely scattered, sporadic visiting occasions at a distant camp were always accompanied by the formal greeting (Tanaka, personal comm.). Thus the rareness of this pattern of greeting is probably due to the sedentarization which has made visiting too ordinary an event. Although greeting interaction, as the principle, proceeds by stages from I to III, the first and the third stages are often omitted. Therefore, I shall regard Stage II or one-to-one greeting, as a unit of greeting interaction in the following analysis.

(2) Variables correlating with greeting frequency: age, sex and social distance

First, I shall examine those encounters recorded at Camp P, where the visitors were actually observed to approach the residents (Table 8). No greeting occurred in the encounters where the adolescent visitor, whether male or female, entered the scene. As for adult visitors, 52.3 percent (68/130) of the men who entered the scene participated in the greeting interaction, while only 10.5 percent (8/76) of the women participated. Therefore, it is evident that the greeting interaction is most likely to occur when an adult male visitor enters the scene, occupied by residents (also see Fig. 5).

Table 8. Number of cases where visitor approached the scene and greeting occurred or failed to occur.

Greeting	Male visitor			Female visitor		
	Adult	Adolescent	Total	Adult	Adolescent	Total
Occurring	68 (52.3)	0 (0.0)	68 (40.2)	8 (10.5)	0 (0.0)	8 (9.4)
Not occurring	62 (47.7)	39 (100.0)	101 (59.8)	68 (89.5)	9 (100.0)	77 (90.6)
Total	130	39	169	76	9	85

Figures in the parentheses indicate percentages in each column.

Table 9. Frequency distribution of interaction units of greeting among age-sex classes.

	Male		Female		Total
	Adult	Adol.	Adult	Adol.	
Adult male	255 (83.3)	1 (0.3)	35 (11.4)	0 (0.0)	291
Adolescent male	—	1 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1
Adult female	—	—	14 (4.6)	0 (0.0)	14
Adolescent female	—	—	—	0 (0.0)	0
Total	255	2	49	0	306

Numbers in parentheses indicate the cell percentages to the total frequency of the units.

In order to exemplify the skewed distribution of the frequency of greeting among age-sex classes, I shall examine the total episodes of one-to-one greeting which I have recorded throughout the !Koi!kom community (Table 9). Most of the greeting (83.8 percent) occurred between adult men, while unmarried adolescents, whether males or females, seldom participated in greeting interactions. Moreover, greeting episodes between adult females were strikingly rare, being less than 5 percent of all the greeting units. Thus greeting is a social behavior which is almost exclusively performed by 'mature men' (*kxao d//o:ko*) in the San society.

Now returning to the cases observed at Camp P, I shall examine the characteristics of those encounters where the adult male visitor entered the scene but failed to participate in the greeting interaction. The first variable involved in the omission of greeting is the composition of attendants. If most of the attendants are women or adolescents, the greeting tends to be omitted even when the adult male visitor enters the scene. The second variable correlating with the omission of greeting is how frequently someone visits the subject camp. All of the adult male visitors are ranked into 5 grades according to the visiting frequency at Camp P. The percentages of encounters with greeting are compared among these grades (Fig. 6). The likelihood to greet the attendants is conspicuously low at the first grade, i.e., the most frequent 3 visitors, and those who are included in the second grade also more often omit greeting than the men included in another 3 lower grades. Thus, it is concluded that the adult men who most frequently visit the same camp tend to omit greeting with the residents.

The above point strongly suggests that whether the greeting occurs between adult men or not depends on the social distance between them. The most representative

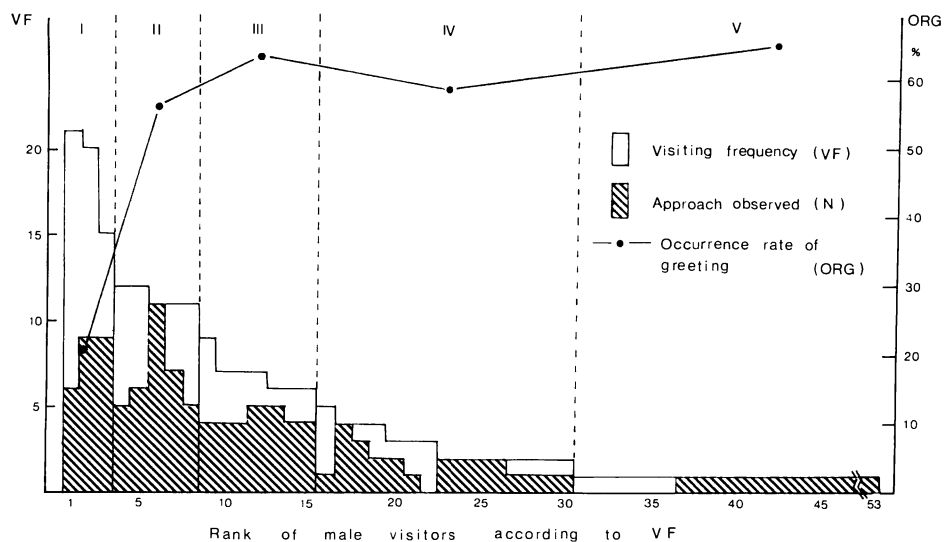


Fig. 6. Correlation between visiting frequency of adult males and occurrence rate of greeting. Roman figures and broken lines represent 5 grades of visiting frequency. Occurrence rate = $n/N \times 100$ (%), when n indicates the number of encounters in which greeting occurred.

Table 10. Correlation between frequency of male-male greeting and the kinship distance between participants.

Kinship distance	Number of dyads	Greeting frequency	Significant level
Primary affines	56 (20.0)	25 (16.1)	ns
Secondary affines	80 (28.6)	36 (23.2)	ns
Non-kins	60 (21.4)	64 (41.3)	+++
Kgalagadi	84 (30.0)	30 (19.4)	—
Total	280	155	0.001

All episodes of greeting in which 4 male residents of Camp P participated are shown. 'Number of dyads' indicate the number of combinations between these 4 residents and 70 male non-residents. 'Alienated others' are excluded from the analysis. '+' and '—' respectively indicate that the observed frequency is significantly greater or smaller than the expectations calculated according to dyad numbers. +, —: $p < 0.02$; + + +, — — —: $p < 0.001$ (Chi-square test, $df = 1$). Figures in the parentheses indicate the percentages in each column.

criterion for social distance is kinship relation. Table 10 shows the correlation of the kinship distance with the frequency of greeting episodes in which 4 adult male residents of Camp P, the focal individuals of my observation, participated. The 'alienated others' defined in the previous section are excluded from this analysis, because they are supposed to have only a rare chance of encountering these 4 men. The frequency distribution of greeting episodes shows a significant deviation from the expectations which were calculated according to the numbers of dyads included in respective kinship categories ($\chi^2 = 36.3279$, $p < 0.001$, $df = 3$). Especially, greeting significantly occurs frequently between non-kinsmen ($\chi^2 = 26.7259$, $p < 0.001$, $df = 1$). Thus greet-

ing is very likely to occur between any 2 adult men who meet with each other not so frequently, and have a relatively distant kinship relationship with each other.

(3) Criteria for the closeness of social distance: Consanguinity and co-membership

Greeting of the Central Kalahari San is a specific form of social interaction which is preferentially exchanged between adult males in order to recognize each other as the mature man and, at the same time, to confirm the social distance above a certain degree between them. Conversely, the reluctance to greet is based on the mutual perception of the closeness between them. This mutual perception derives from 2 kinds of criteria; consanguinity and co-membership.

The 4 resident men on whom I focused intensive observations have no male consanguines outside of their camp. But all through the extensive observations of greeting interaction occurring in various camps, with the exception of one I observed no episodes between consanguines. In this exceptional case, a G//anakwe man (resident of Camp Ns), visited Camp N, the anthropologists' base camp, and exchanged greetings with his son (about 30 years old) who was employed by my colleagues. He had 10 offsprings from 5 different wives, and had shown a tendency to spend an isolated life with his present wife of G/wikwe these past several years. Such a practical separation might make the social relation between father and son distant enough for them to exchange greetings with each other.

Similarly, I have observed no greeting interactions between the residents of the same camp; except for one episode. In this episode, a man living in Camp Ts visited Camp P and approached a group of 3 men, 2 of whom were the residents of Camp P and one was his co-member living in Camp Ts. He exchanged greetings with them all, one after another.

Although there were so few exceptions, it can fairly well be concluded that consanguinity and co-membership are the primary criteria for which the mutual perception of each other's closeness can be confirmed.

(4) Conventional program and sequential structure of the greeting interaction

The above description and analyses enable us to formulate the concept of a 'conventional program' which organizes face-to-face interactions. The conventional program differs from the institution which can be explicitly codified and absolutely directs all the members of a society to do or not to do something. It is an implicit rule which provides those who are in each other's immediate physical presence with a rough framework for their mutually dealing with. One aspect of the framework provided by the conventional program concerns the question of who can appropriately participate in a certain kind of interaction. As was analyzed in the above sections, such variables as sex, age, kinship and social distance are relevant to the prescription of appropriate participants.

Another aspect of the conventional program concerns the procedures for the actions of the interaction, or its temporal organization. An idea of the temporal organization of interaction can be obtained by confirming which participant takes the initiative in proceeding with the interaction at each stage.

I have recorded the ongoing processes of greeting interactions in 154 cases of 'en-

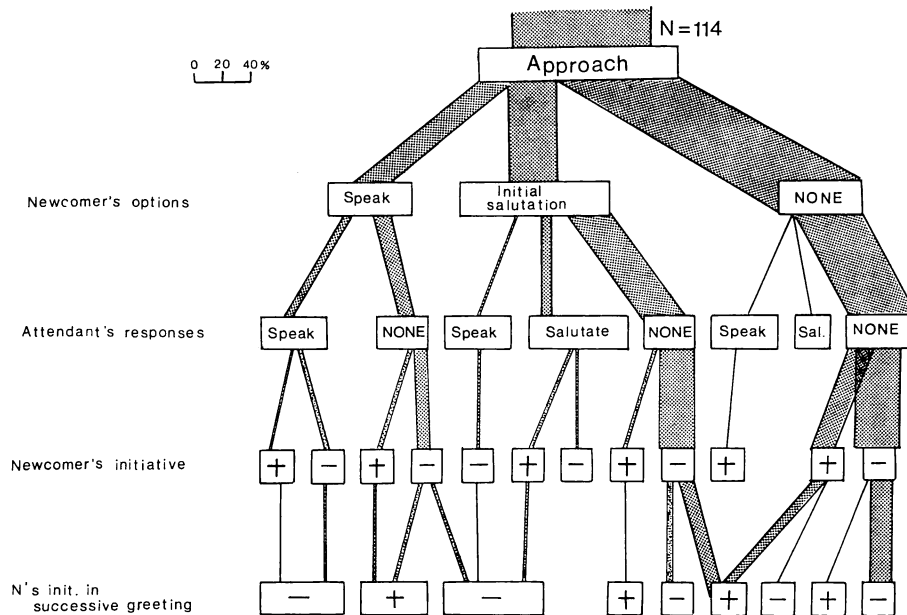


Fig. 7. Sequential structure of greeting interaction. Width of the bar represents the percentage of each pathway. Plus and minus signs indicate the cases where the newcomer initiated or failed to initiate the one-to-one greeting, respectively.

counter', which occurred at 127 different 'scenes'. The newcomer and attendants defined above, do not always correspond to the visitor and the residents, respectively. The following analysis focuses on 114 encounters where the newcomer was visitor and the attendants were residents.

The flowchart shown in Figure 7 represents the sequential structure of greeting interactions which occurred after the visitor approached the scene. The conspicuous point to notice is that the greeting interaction proceeds through strikingly various pathways. Thus at each step of the ongoing interaction, multiple options are open to the participants. The variation in participants' options will be discussed in the following section.

In spite of the above, it is also evident that some pathways are more principal than others, in that the probability of their being traced is very high. The most principal pathway of greeting interactions can be described as follows: 1) The visitor approaches the scene silently, 2) The residents also say nothing, 3) After a while one of the residents initiates one-to-one greeting, and 4) Other residents also initiate one-to-one greeting, one after another. Such a principal pathway surely represents the basic structure of the conventional program underlying greeting interactions.

This basic structure is more clearly visualized by the scheme shown in Figure 8. The most essential features of the program of greeting can be summarized into the following 2 points. First, it is in the fifty-fifty probability range as to whether the visitor utters or not, when he approaches the scene. But, he is met by the residents

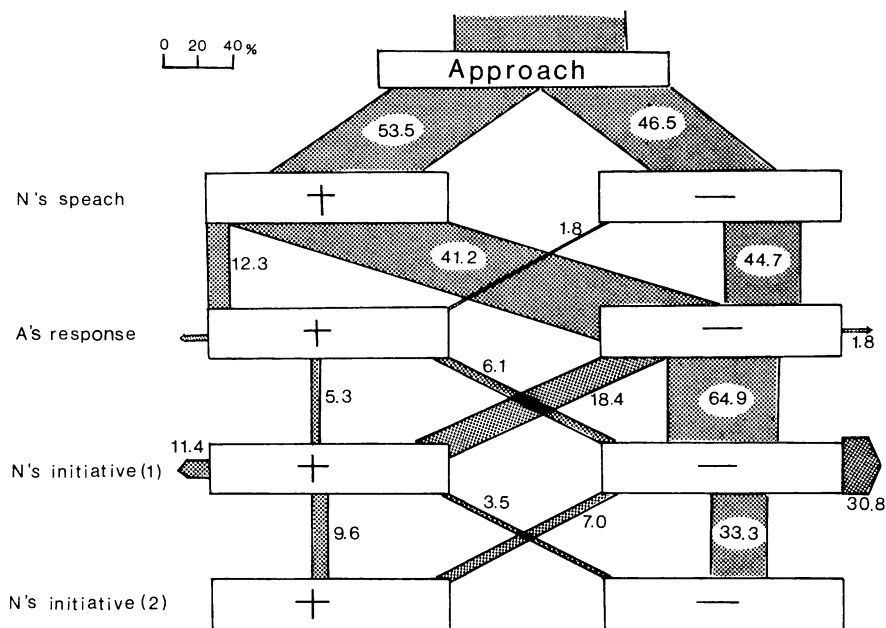


Fig. 8. Scheme representing simplified structure of greeting interaction. N and A indicate newcomer and attendants, respectively. Also see Fig. 7.

with the neglect of his appearance, irrespectively of his practices. Secondly, the right to initiate the greeting interaction after such neglect is preferentially allocated to the residents.

On the analogy of music, the basic structure in interaction thus abstracted represents the 'theme' of the conventional program, while various pathways which are open to the participants' option can be regarded as the 'variations' played on this 'theme.' It is this 'theme' that expresses most explicitly the meanings or messages carried by the conventional program, which are essential to the society in question. In the following final section, I will discuss how the 'theme' of the conventional program of greeting correlates with the features of the social organization of the San.

(5) Variability in options of the participants

Generally the statistical analysis of face-to-face interaction puts so much emphasis on its static structure that one might be led to the illusion that people always act automatically on a fixed program. In this section, I shall develop an opposite viewpoint which focuses on the 'variation' in the strategy of participants, giving qualitative descriptions of individual episodes.

(a) Deviation: Deviation from the basic framework of the conventional program is the most extreme form of options that are available to the participants. The first type of deviation occurs when anyone not belonging to the 'appropriate' age-sex classes dare greet other persons.

Case 5. One evening, an adult man (Hxara:) living in Camp S visited Camp P, and exchanged greetings with 2 adult male attendants. Then an adolescent boy (Tabu:ka) who was lying near the open-air fire called jokingly to Hxara:, “≠Kai, Hxara:be”. Immediately, Hxara: approached and shook Tabu:ka roughly and even attempting to step on his head. Tabu:ka rolled about on the sand, crying “Stop it! Hxara:!” (*Hxara:e ho: ae*) with his head between his hands. In spite of the violent way in which Hxara: treated Tabu:ka, both of them remained smiling.

In the above case, the adult man who was greeted by the adolescent boy regarded this greeting as a banter to him, because an adolescent boy primarily has neither right nor duty to greet other people.

The second type of deviation directly drives from the ground rule that the greeting can be omitted between 2 persons in a close relationship. Even the 2 persons having neither consanguinity nor co-membership with each other can share a consensus that their relationship is close enough to omit greeting, if they frequently meet and interact with each other. When one oversteps this consensus and dare initiate greeting, his or her act might be regarded as deliberate mischief by the other person.

Case 6. Late one morning, a female visitor from Camp Ns (!kaoba) had been staying in a gathering of residents in Camp S. Another female visitor from Camp M (kju:) approached here, speaking to !kaoba, “You are visiting here, I have collected firewood”. After she sat down at a distance of 1 m from one of the resident women, she exchanged greeting with 3 older residents, one after another. And then, she called to !kaoba, “≠Kai”. Immediately, !kaoba stood up and approached kju:, sitting in face-to-face proximity to her. These two women exchanged mock blows with each other, laughing cheerfully. Then they began to talk, grasping each other's wrist (Photo 3).

Judging from the fact that the newcomer woman at first spoke to the attendant visitor, it is supposed that they had a rather close relationship with each other. Therefore the newcomer's intention to greet the attendant visitor in particular implies a sense of banter.

The common feature to the 2 types of deviation described above is that the ‘superfluous’ greeting addressed to the inappropriate party causes a joking interaction accompanied by physical contact between the 2 parties. This point suggests that for the San, greeting is primarily a troublesome obligation, which they are willing to save whenever the relationship or context of the encounter permits it. Because greeting is a serious ‘ritual’ in nature, its superfluous enactment can exert an effect of mocking at the seriousness of the ritual itself.

(b) Delay: As was demonstrated by the sequential analysis, greeting is usually exchanged at the opening of the “mutual involvement” (Goffman, 1963: 166–178) between newcomer and attendants. In other words, the greeting establishes the “situational presence”, “easing the transition between ‘unfocused’ and ‘focused’ interaction (Callan, 1970: 114). However, it was sometimes observed that greeting occurred even after the conversation had begun between the visitor and residents.

Case 7. One morning an adult male visitor came from Camp S, and stood under a tree from which meat of a hartebeest was hung. Two male residents approached him, and they began to talk loudly. Inspecting the meat, the visitor commented upon its condition. Four minutes after the beginning of the conversation, one of the resident abruptly called to the visitor, “≠Kai”, and the visitor responded to him. Successively, another resident greeted the visitor.



(a)



(b)

Photo 3. Physical contact between two women which occurred after the 'superfluous greeting'. A woman, kju: (right), addressed the 'superfluous greeting' to another woman, !kaoba (left), and the latter approached kju:. (a) Immediately after the exchange of mock blows, (b) wrist-holding occurred in conversation.

Such a case of delay in greeting reveals an apparently paradoxical character of greeting interaction. Although it is not always an indispensable procedure for establishing a focused interaction, it must be executed sooner or later, so long as the focused interactions are going on. In other words, the fact that 2 parties have already engaged in substantial conversation never extinguishes the duty to greet each other.

The second type of delay occurs when one of the attendants has already been involved in a prolonged talk to another attendant.

Case 8. One morning, an adult male visitor approached an adult male resident of Camp S who was scolding his daughter about her treatment of goats. The visitor squatted down in proximity to the resident, sighing out his fatigue in an exaggerated manner, but the resident kept scolding the girl, without glancing at the visitor. The visitor murmured the initial salutation, "*Kxoi/a*", and the resident turned to the visitor shortly afterwards, saying, "This will take a little more time" (*/Are:ha kxoi*). After another minute of scolding, the resident turned to the visitor to greet him, "*≠ Kai*". The visitor responded, and began 'formal greeting'.

This case also reveals the 'dilemma' intrinsic to greeting. The execution of greeting might not be so urgent as to interrupt the present talk. But, on the other hand, it might be so important that it should not be executed until the attendant has surely disposed of small matters that threatens to disturb smooth transition to their mutual involvement.

The third type of delay is not caused deliberately but occurs as an inevitable accident. When a newcomer appears at the scene where many attendants have gathered, there occurs so rapid a sequence of one-to-one greeting between the newcomer and each of the attendants, that some of them may miss the chance to greet the newcomer. If a loud conversation immediately begins, the chance to greet is suspended a good while. Several minutes, or at the extreme, 20–30 minutes later, when a pause arises in the speech, a greeting is abruptly exchanged between the participants who have remained in 'debt' to each other.

From the above descriptions, one may get the impression that the participants make light of the value of greeting by postponing it in an ongoing interaction. But an opposite interpretation is appropriate. The occasions of delay most evidently demonstrate that the adult men of the San adhere to the ground rule that the greeting must be finished. This point sheds light onto the great significance of the dyadic nature of one-to-one greeting. Those who are present at the scene can chat with one another. However, this does not mean that they recognize each other as a specific individual. By means of greeting, as it were, one really recognizes the other person.

3. Strategies for Visiting and Receiving

The intrinsic problem for the visitors is to make the residents acknowledge their presence. The visitor cannot help being presumed to be present for some purpose, because they have spontaneously chosen to stay there. Whereas, the presence of the resident is usually taken for granted. But, strictly speaking, this distinction between visitor and resident is not so clear-cut as was suggested above. A resident sometimes shows a kind of hesitation in entering the scene where other residents are attendant. For example, an old man approaching a group of adolescent boys in front of my tent, who were waiting for the distribution of my supper, hesitated about sitting down. He may crane his neck to have a distant view, or he may banter a toddler being on hand there. He will finally sit down after such a sequence of 'behavioral excuse' as if he were 'saying', "I have sat down here very casually, without expecting a share of Sugawara's supper".

The visitor sometimes behaves in a similar way to the above example. Therefore,

the behavior which I shall describe below as 'the strategy for visiting' is not always specific to the visitor. In sum, if one is subjected to the conjecture by others on one's purpose of being present at the scene, various kinds of "small behavior" (Goffman, 1971) can be regarded as the strategy for gaining an acknowledgement of his or her presence (cf. Callan et al., 1973).

The most common type of 'small behavior' performed by the visitor is to seek contact with children, especially toddlers. It is sometimes observed that the visitor approaching the scene talks to the small child or attempts to catch them by the arm. Also during the stay, the visitor often playfully banters the children who are around him. If the visitor has a close relationship with the residents of the camp and is well known by the children, they may delightfully respond to the visitor's banter. But more often an abrupt appeal for contact by the visitor provoke coyness, fear, or resistance of the child.

Not only does the visitor seek physical contact with a child jokingly, but sometimes expresses an explicit concern for the child. For example a G//anakwe male visitor, lying in the shade of a tree together with 5 male residents, repeatedly called to 2 toddlers playing there. "Hey, your feet will be burnt!" (*Ba: , ngere dao.*) This visitor had a habit of giving a haughty performance in various occasions, and it was safely judged that he had no familiar bond with the residents. On this occasion, the soft coaxing voice toward the children stood in a curious contrast to a serious look which he wore relapsing into silence.

Generally the San are very indulgent to their children (Konner, 1976; Draper, 1976, 1978). However, the above occasion demonstrates that the concern for the children expressed by the visitor is not only derived from the feeling evoked by 'cuteness' but as a means to legitimate his presence at the scene. Because the 'cuteness of children' constitutes a fundamental delight for the San, every attempt to make contact with children tends to be easily accepted. This is true to some degree for our own culture.

Another type of 'small behavior' often given by the visitor is 'inspecting'. Various goods being on hand are inspected. Especially visitors like to comment on the tones of the musical instruments such as 'finger piano' (*dengu*) and 'violin' (*hxankure*). Any work which the residents are doing may also be inspected and commented upon. A female visitor, approaching a male resident who was rubbing the skin with a tin, said, "You are doing it in such a way," and imitated his action.

Furthermore, a matter which has been referred to in the conversation may immediately be inspected. When a male visitor heard that a dog had stolen into a hut to eat meat, the night before, he immediately stood up to inspect the actual spot. In another case, the same man walked around a plowed field behind camp which he was visiting, murmuring something and pointing at it, just after this field had been referred to in the conversation.

For various reasons, it often happens that the conversation between visitor and resident does not become lively, and that the former has to go through a long awkward suspense. It might not be affirmed that the visitor involved in 'small behavior' consciously aims for an acknowledgement of his presence by the residents. However,

so far as small behavior at least serves to kill-time, the stay of a visitor can have a more 'natural appearance'.

The most basic strategy of residents for receiving the visitor is 'not to look at the visitor who is approaching'. The gaze-averting in an encounter is relevant to the general issue in interaction ethology. Kendon and Ferber demonstrated that the greeting pair tend to avoid looking at the other until they are close enough for the close salutation (Kendon & Ferber, 1973). They ascribe the gaze-averting during approach to the "cut-off" mechanism which reduces the stimulus input from the interaction (Chance, 1962).

Generally, in any human encounter, the approach constitutes an ambiguous intermediate phase where the transition between unfocused and focused interactions are ongoing. During this phase, if the interactants make eye-contact with each other, they cannot help being embarrassed because they have not yet anything to do. Moreover, in the San society, this phase of approach is quite prolonged owing to the physical conditions of the environment. When I visited my colleague, I also found the prolonged phase of approach following the "distant salutation" to be awkward. Therefore the practice of residents 'not to look at the visitor' can be regarded as a means of avoiding embarrassment inevitably arising during the intermediate phase between unfocused and focused interactions. However, the following case indicates that this practice implies more than the device to avoid embarrassment.

Case 9. One morning a male visitor approached Camp P and a dog barked at him. A male resident who was walking to his own hut threw a stick to drive the dog away. And then the resident passed in front of the visitor without glancing at him. After the resident sat down in front of his hut, the visitor approached and squatted down, situated face-to-face in proximity to him. At last the resident looked at the visitor and initiated one-to-one greeting.

The above case reveals 2 points: First, the visitor should be treated as if he were not present, until he expresses explicit intention to engage in a focused interaction with the resident. Second, those who are merely passing by do not need to acknowledge each other, but if they are to acknowledge, they have to establish a stable setting; halting the fluxing situation in which 'passing by' occurs.

The basic strategy of residents, not to look at the visitor, is only one side of the coin. Another side is the fact that, residents are constantly and keenly monitoring the circumstances outside their own camp. When the residents glance at a figure passing by or approaching at a long distance, they halt the conversation and murmur the name of that person. At this moment the residents are ready to give their performance of 'not looking at the visitor'. Furthermore, being in readiness to receive the visitor, the resident may even begin a kind of 'behavioral excuse' which is parallel to the visitor's strategy. For example, a married couple, sighting figures of 5 men at a long distance who were approaching their hut, in turn enumerated all the names of these men in a low voice, and then the husband stood up to pull down the skin which was hanging on the fence. The husband sat down again and began to rub the skin. When the 5 men stopped in front of him, he initiated one-to-one greeting, continuing to rub the skin.

The last example reminds us of a behavioral pattern specific to 'egalitarian society'

to which various anthropologists have paid special attention. Simply speaking, the message implied by this behavioral pattern can be summarized as, "I'm not as happy as you suppose" and, at last, "So, do not expect anything from me."

In fact, principal characteristics of face-to-face interactions between visitor and resident, which have been elucidated in this section, cannot be fully understood, until they are related to the total social arrangement of so-called 'egalitarianism' of the San. I shall discuss this problem in the final section.

DISCUSSION

The following discussion deals with 2 main problems; First, based on the social relations and transactions of visiting, it will elucidate the essential characteristics of the San social organization and the influences of recent sedentarization on it. Second, it will examine how the themes of a conventional program of visitor-resident interactions correlate with the fundamental social order of the San, i.e., egalitarianism.

The conspicuous point in the social relations of visiting is that 30–40 percent of all adult San constitute a category of 'alienated others' for the study group, in that they never visited it. Namely, distinct 'discontinuity' is found within the whole picture of the social relation networks of the San. This discontinuity is of special importance for the fundamental social organization of the San.

Generally, when one decides to visit another camp, he is to set some goal, whether it be social or economic, on the level of transaction. At the same time, on the level of face-to-face interaction, he is to legitimate his stay continuously, giving various kinds of 'small behavior'. The most fundamental strategy appropriate for both levels is to give the visitor's behavior 'natural appearance' (Goffman, 1971).

On the level of transaction, the goal having the most 'natural' appearance is to exercise the right to beg for something. Giving-and-receiving-goods or serving-and-consuming-food occurs among specific visitor-resident dyads, as if it were a matter of course. It is safely presumed that such dyads have a stable relationship of 'balanced reciprocity' (Sahlins, 1974). Conversely, those who are included in the category of 'alienated others' by the subject group had no such stable relationship based on balanced reciprocity, with them, therefore the occasions of visiting between them did not appear natural at either the transactional or interactional level.

On the other hand, it is often argued that economic transaction within a camp is based on the principle of 'generalized reciprocity' (Lee, 1979; Tanaka, 1980). Therefore, if two parties decide to live together in the same camp, they have to commit themselves to the specific set of rights and obligations to the relationship of generalized reciprocity. Such a consensus can be provided with a 'natural appearance', only if the prolonged relationship of balanced reciprocity has been established through daily visiting occasions between them, which have reinforced trust and affinity in each other.

Therefore *visiting each other* is a necessary condition for *living together*, although it is not a sufficient condition for the latter. Thus it is concluded that the 'alienated others' are a set of people who would never live together with the subject group.

except under extraordinary environmental pressure. In fact, the traditional home range of my study group had been around the Kxaochwe pan, more than 50 km south of !Koi!kom, whereas the 'alienated others' ranged mainly in the northern area of !Koi!kom. So these two parties rarely had chances to meet each other, and had never lived together in the same camp so far as Tanaka knows (Tanaka, personal comm.).

The above argument leads us to reconsider the concept of 'band'. Concerning the social organization of the San, there is a noticeable disagreement of views among researchers. Heinz (1972), Marshall (1976), and Silberbauer (1981) are confident of the band as a visible entity, while Lee (1979) and Tanaka (1980) deny the application of the band concept to a residential group with fluid membership. Wilmsen (1983) criticizes Lee and Tanaka for the contradiction between their emphasis on the fluidity of group membership on the one hand, and their reliance on the stability of land ownership (Lee, 1979) or of structured relationships among residential units (Tanaka, 1980) on the other.

The above inconsistencies concerning the band concept are primarily due to the confusion about the level of a visible residential unit, with that of 'belonging consciousness' or group identity. At the level of the residential unit, Lee and Tanaka are right in saying that the camp cannot be regarded as the embodiment of the band as a sociological entity. However this does not mean that the grouping pattern of the San is characterized as completely amorphous. On the contrary, as Tanaka clearly demonstrates, a hierarchical cluster organization can be abstracted from the complex process of fission and fusion of groups. Therefore, the most essential point is to know how these processes are engraved on the level of the belonging consciousness of people.

As was elucidated above, the set of people who can visit each other includes the set of people who can live together. Therefore, the discontinuity found in the visiting relations among the sedentary community indicates that there also is the discontinuity in the likelihood of any two parties that can live together. In other words, at the level of belonging consciousness, there is a clear-cut gap of boundary which distinguishes those persons with whom ego can live together under some circumstances from those with whom living together is naturally impossible. Additionally, this boundary is not concordant with the linguistic boundary between G//anakwe and G/wikwe. In both traditional and sedentary situations, the 'mixed' camps where both G//anakwe and G/wikwe are living together were common. Furthermore the 'alienated others' for my study group, an almost pure G/wi group, included as many G/wikwe persons as G//anakwe.

If the concept of band is to survive (cf. Guenther, 1985), we should define it on the level of a belonging consciousness: as the range of people who recognize one another as potential co-residents. In other words, the band exists not in the domain of objective entity, but in the domain of inter-subjective consensus.

Putting emphasis on the "vagueness of territoriality", Tanaka (1980: p. 121) rather obscures the discontinuity in San social organization. Freeing the concept of territoriality from the narrow definition of 'any area which is aggressively defended by

its occupant' (Malmberg, 1980), we might be able to understand the correspondence between the social boundary at the level of belonging consciousness and the actual geographical location of camps in terms of territory, i.e., the preserve which is mainly maintained and made visible by respect for it, or hesitation to enter it shown by persons other than its occupants. It is from this viewpoint that we can examine the organization of both micro- and macro-territories on the same ground.

If we reconfirm that during the times of a traditional hunting and gathering life the San experienced highly organized grouping patterns with distinctive clusterization, then the discontinuity of social relationships among the sedentary community is understandable. Thus it is concluded that the basic characteristic of the traditional social organization of the San not only persists after sedentarization, but also appears in a rather exaggerated manner under extraordinary concentration (Tanaka, 1987: 46).

Now I turn to the level of face-to-face interaction, examining the organization of greeting interaction and its correlation with the social arrangement. Callan proposes a model which links the greeting to "the structuring of social space and time, and of the broader dimensions of social relationships themselves" (Callan, 1970: p. 117). Her proposition is of much value for integrating various features of the San greeting into a comprehensive whole.

a) Structuring of social time: The phenotypes of greeting can be arranged according to the length of time two persons have separated. First, frequent visitors tend to omit greeting with the residents. Second, those who occasionally meet each other exchange one-to-one greeting. But one-to-one greeting between the same pair is necessary to be exchanged only once a day. Third, previously when camps were widely scattered, formal greeting invariably occurred whenever one sporadically visited a distant camp. Finally, although I have made no actual observations, there is a specific type of 'interaction ritual' (Goffman, 1967) that occurs when close relatives or a conjugal pair meet again after a very long separation. When a man comes home after a long travel his wife and parents dip their hands into water and 'splash water on' (*≠nao*) his body in order to 'cure' (*sha:haho*) him. The San believe that the wife so 'badly wants him' (*ama kiriha kene*) that the husband would get ill if he ate the meal cooked by his wife before being splashed on.

b) Structuring of social space: Greeting is usually exchanged between visitor and resident, never being exchanged between residents within their own camp. This interaction marks the boundary of a social group to which one belongs, distinguishing the 'insiders' from the 'outsiders'. More concretely, greeting occurs a little while after the visitor has entered the camp micro-territory and has sat down at a relatively peripheral location. The conspicuous feature of this process, looking most curious to the non San observer, is that the visitor silently approaching the scene behaves as if he were an 'invisible man', and whether he speaks or not, the residents behave as if they had not perceived his appearance. In this sense, the greeting interaction does not function to announce one's entrance into the micro-territory or to ask permission

to enter it. In other words, outsiders can freely enter the camp, as long as they adhere to the latent rule which subtly regulates their proxemic behavior.

Generally speaking, how to distinguish 'us' (insiders) from 'them' (outsiders) is a very troublesome problem, especially in a foraging society where membership of the residential group is very unstable. The essential features of San greeting gives us answer to this problem. That is, the conventional program of greeting represents two main themes which are contradictory to each other; *the openness of a camp* and *the definite distinction between residents and non-residents*. Although a camp is originally only a temporary group with fluid membership, it is the primary criterion used to distinguish insiders from outsiders whether one is co-living with others in the same camp at the time. In this sense, the social life of the San is constructed on the basis of conspicuously opportunistic values.

c) Structuring of social relationships: The right to initiate the greeting interaction is preferentially allocated to the residents. The residents are not able to prevent the visitor from entering their own micro-territory, but instead enjoy the right to introduce the visitor into 'mutual involvement' (Goffman, 1963) by initiating greeting. Conversely, if residents wish, they can leave the visitor in the position of an 'invisible man' for a long time. The latent message conveyed by this program is the 'dominance' of residents.

The analysis of economic transaction between visitor and resident demonstrated that goods or food preferentially flow from resident to visitor during visiting. Therefore, whatever motivation the visitor really has, he can always expect to receive something, and, at the same time, he cannot help being presumed to have such an expectation.

Lee (1979) argues that various devices to discourage stinginess or arrogance of the 'rich' are embedded in the social life of the San. However, this does not mean that the San can always behave in an appropriate way according to 'egalitarian social rule' which effectively suppresses stinginess and arrogance. Rather, the above examination of various kinds of 'small behavior' and 'behavioral excuse' given both by visitor and resident, reveals that they deal with each other using ad hoc strategies to counter the embarrassment inevitably caused by the give-and-receive relationship, the simplest and most essential form of dominance-subordination.

The above interpretation enables us to comprehend 'not looking at', the basic strategy of residents. The San can never refuse a visitor. However, by postponing the recognition of a visitor's presence for as long as possible, residents display their reluctance to give and confirm the fundamental principle that the visitor is essentially an 'uncalled for guest'.

Analyzing the rules of greeting interaction among the Wolof, West African agriculturalists, Irvine (1974) depicts a contrasting picture with the San greeting. First, among the Wolof, one who initiates greeting keeps the role of questioner while the other participant keeps the role of responder all through the interaction. Thus Wolof greeting has complementary interactional structure with role differentiation, while San greeting has essentially a symmetrical structure in which the roles of questioner

and responder successively alternate. Even in elaborated and prolonged 'formal greeting', the roles of 'reporter' and 'hearer' alternate.

Second, in the caste society of the Wolof, the role of initiator is always associated with lower status. If an immediate agreement of relative status is not gained, the Wolof use either of 2 strategies: "self-lowering" or "self-elevating". Because the participant of lower status is exempted from the obligation to help or give some gift to the other person, the strategy of self-lowering is commoner than the alternative.

This contrast sheds light on a unique character of San greeting which is closely connected with their fundamental social organization. This uniqueness can be characterized as 'relational symmetry', implying that any complementary roles in face-to-face interactions can be switched at any moment. In San society, visiting is the most representative social occasion based on 'relational symmetry'. The roles of visitor and resident are quite complementary to each other. However, these roles can easily be switched between two individuals at another time by one's spontaneous decision to visit the other's camp, becoming the visitor.

It might be a rather naive view to assume that egalitarian society is completely immune from dominance-subordinate relationships. In fact, this paper has elucidated the spacing behavior characteristic of visitors and described various strategies that aim for the acknowledgement of their presence: all of which can be regarded as the manifestation of a fundamentally 'reserved' attitude on the part of the visitor. This is the substance of micro-territory. That is, micro-territory is the area within which the occupants can assume *a priori* dominance.

Therefore the dominance assumed by residents can be designated as 'situational dominance'. Among the Wolof, because social dominance is a fixed attribute of each individual designating his position in the hierarchy, in actual face-to-face situations he can be exempted from the obligation of donator by assuming a spurious subordinate role. Among the San, because dominance is defined only situationally, an individual in this situation spontaneously accepts the role of donator. This point is the substance of 'openness' of the micro-territory.

From an ethological viewpoint, it has been argued that greeting originated from an 'appeasement ritual' by the subordinate toward the dominant (Callan, 1970). This argument leads us to the assumption that there is a universal connection between the initiator role of greeting and subordination. The results of this paper cast doubt on the validity of this kind of argument. We cannot fully understand the conventional program that organizes any face-to-face interaction only in terms of psychological agents serving as tension-reduction, needs-satisfaction, and so on. The conventional program is interwoven with the total social arrangement, and the essential feature of the social organization provides it with a main theme.

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NOTES

- (1) Accurately, a daughter of the 'head' of Camp Ts is married with a man living in Camp S, who is the brother-in-law (MHS) of g//aekwe and n//öba in Camp P (see Table 1 and Fig. 2).
- (2) The original meaning of *≠kai* is 'wake' and *kaho* is a suffix which makes the causative verb. Thus, *≠kaikaho* originally means 'let someone wake up'.

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